THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

WAR AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

A Radio Discussion by PETER DRUCKER
WALTER JOHNSON *and* HAROLD LASSWELL

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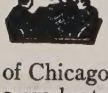
Around the Round Table . . . .

PETER DRUCKER, professor of political economy at Ben ton College, was born in Vienna, Austria, in 1909. He to this country in 1937 as a correspondent for a grou British newspapers. Professor Drucker received his Doctor of Law d at the University of Frankfort. For a time he served as foreign and fi cial editor of the *Frankfurter Anzeiger*, and he was economist for a pr nent British banking house before coming to the United States. He member of the Committee on Research in Political Theory of the Am can Political Science Association. He is the co-author of *Germany: Last Four Years* (1937) and the author of *The End of Economic* (1939) and *The Future of Industrial Man* (1943). He is a regular contr tor to *Harper's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Fortune*, and the *Virg Quarterly Review*.

WALTER JOHNSON, instructor in American history at University of Chicago, is a native of Nahant, Massachus He did his undergraduate work at Dartmouth College received his A.B. degree there in 1937. He was granted his M.A. Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago, where he specialized in cent American history. He has been a member of the department of tory at the University of Chicago for the last three years. Besides academic interests, Mr. Johnson has taken an active part in Illinois p tics. He is the author of *America on the Eve of War*, which will be p lished soon, and at the present time is engaged in writing a biograph William Allen White.



HAROLD D. LASSWELL is a political scientist and has b director of the War Communications Research Project of Library of Congress since 1939. He attended the Univer of Chicago and received his Ph.B. in 1922, his Ph.D. in 1926. He was a a graduate student at the universities of London, Geneva, Paris, and B lin in 1923, 1924, and 1925. He first joined the faculty of the political ence department of the University of Chicago in 1922 and was associ professor of political science from 1932 to 1938. His visiting lectures at other institutions of higher learning were many and as far-flung Yenching University in Peking, China, in 1937. In 1938–39 he was turer in political science at the Washington School of Psychiatry, Wa ington, D.C. He is widely known as the author of many provocative a significant books, among which are: *Propaganda Technique in the Wo War* (1927); *Psychopathology and Politics* (1930); *World Politics and P sonal Insecurity* (1935); *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (193 *World Revolutionary Propaganda: A Chicago Study* (with Dorothy B menstock) (1939); and *Democracy through Public Opinion* (1941). He is advisory editor of *Ethics* and an associate editor of *Public Opinion Qu terly*.

WAR AND THE MIDDLE CLASS

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MR. LASSWELL: Gentlemen, enough people predict the crushing of the middle classes as a result of this war to justify the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE in talking about it. Drucker, what do you think?

MR. DRUCKER: I agree with you that it is a popular belief today that modern war means the end of the middle class. I think that it is a completely superstitious fallacy which shows only a lack of political imagination—and a dangerous lack. This war actually is the greatest opportunity that we have had in a long time to strengthen the middle class and to strengthen free society.

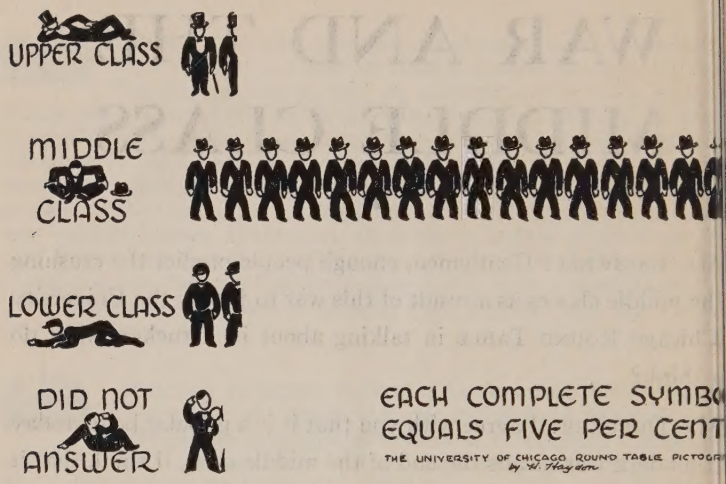
MR. JOHNSON: My friends with small businesses are worried by the closing of small shops, but this is no threat to the middle class because the people closed out have gone into war industry where they are better off. They now have a sense of aiding the war effort, and they can become really better middle-class people than they ever were before.

MR. LASSWELL: I think that we ought to make this clear. Why, after all, do we bother about the middle classes?

MR. JOHNSON: The middle class is just about all of America.

MR. DRUCKER: We cannot hope to have a free society unless it is a middle-class society. After all, the war is fought for the structure of the future society.

AMERICANS CLASSIFY THEMSELVES



* In answer to the question, "What word would you use to name the cl in America you belong to?" a *Fortune* poll found the above summary resu (*Fortune*, February, 1940).

MR. JOHNSON: Drucker, in America the middle class and d mocracy are synonymous.

MR. DRUCKER: I would go so far as to say that the term "midd class," if you apply it to America, is very misleading.

MR. LASSWELL: One thing that we might do first is to clari what we mean by this term "middle class."

MR. DRUCKER: I think that in the European sense there is n middle class in America, because there is no upper class and n lower class. There is only the middle class.

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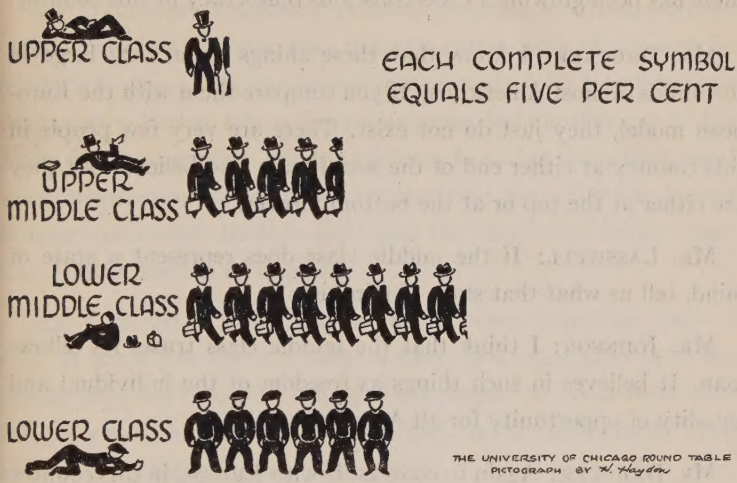
CLASS DIVISIONS IN AMERICA*

According to *Fortune* Magazine, 1940



* As a result of the many varying questions and answers to its poll, *Fortune* magazine set up the above possible classifications of American society (*ibid.*).

MR. LASSWELL: There is one popular misconception about the middle class that I think is spread all over the country. A good many people feel that because their income is somewhere between certain limits they belong to the middle class.

MR. JOHNSON: I have known people in small towns in America who have had a cash income of no more than five hundred dollars a year; yet they are good middle-class people.

MR. DRUCKER: I would say that it is not the income that makes middle class or any class; it is your conviction as to your future and your opportunities and your responsibility and your belonging to society.

MR. JOHNSON: Drucker, your point that there is no class structure in America as in Europe, I think, is a good one to make. It is

very true that we have never had a titled aristocracy in this country or a habitually poor or poverty-stricken group. But, since 1890, there has been growing a class-conscious plutocracy in this country.

MR. DRUCKER: I know that these things loom very large in the minds of most Americans. If you compare them with the European model, they just do not exist. There are very few people in this country at either end of the social scale who believe that they are either at the top or at the bottom forever.

MR. LASSWELL: If the middle class does represent a state of mind, tell us what that state of mind is.

MR. JOHNSON: I think that the middle class trusts its fellowman. It believes in such things as freedom of the individual and equality of opportunity for all Americans.

MR. DRUCKER: Again to contrast it with Europe, in this country if you looked around for an acceptable political candidate, you would try to get the average fellow who is neither too rich nor too poor—one who started at the bottom but is no longer at the bottom.

MR. JOHNSON: In other words, we try to get a person who has had a success in his career—say he has risen from being a poverty-stricken boy, or simply a poor boy, to a position of wealth or of responsibility.

MR. DRUCKER: It is the kind of success which appears to be within the grasp of everybody who works hard and who has a reasonable break in life.

MR. LASSWELL: Don't you believe that what we are talking about there is a denial of an upper-class system? It is the same sort of thing, you know, that we see illustrated when we find emphasis placed on the fact that General Eisenhower is, after all, the son of a farmer in Kansas.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes. In other words, it is the Horatio Alger tradition—from farm boy to financier.

MR. DRUCKER: You know, yesterday, coming to Chicago on the train I read in the paper that the new commander of our ground forces in England, General Gerow, is the son of a New Jersey railway conductor and that this railway conductor has another son in the Army who is a general. The one and only fact that this paper found worth mentioning was precisely the fact that his father had been a railway conductor, because that was the important thing. That could never happen in England.

MR. LASSWELL: Still there is another very important part of this. It is not just the fact that we deny, in a sense, that there are classes when we recognize the fact that people can come right from the grass roots and make a success; there is the other point. They have to do it through their own efforts.

MR. JOHNSON: They have to work hard, and, as they work hard, they expect to rise and to be rewarded for their efforts.

MR. DRUCKER: Would you agree, gentlemen, that what is representative of the middle classes—what makes the middle class—is that belief in the equal opportunity and the existence of equal opportunities to a reasonable extent?

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, but I would add that since 1890 this problem of equality of opportunity has been one of the great ones facing this country.

MR. LASSWELL: One of the important things here is the fact that this attitude of the middle-class man is a moral attitude in a very important sense. After all, if you have tried to sacrifice, to learn something at school, if you have tried very hard to work and to contribute to society, you feel that you have a claim to be taken seriously just because of that.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, and if you have failed, you look upon it as a sin.

MR. DRUCKER: I agree with the two of you, but I think that you ought to stress that this attitude needs institutions to realize itself. You might say that, to have a middle-class society, you must have equal opportunity and that you must have self-government. Those are the two fundamentals of a free, middle-class society.

MR. JOHNSON: The American-made middle class has always been a great joiner. They belong to church associations, to Rotary clubs, to Kiwanis groups.

MR. DRUCKER: The thing that strikes the European—that I noticed, for instance, when I came here quite a few years ago—is the fact that so much of the real government of this country is in the hands of spontaneous, voluntary, local associations—the church auxiliaries, the Rotaries, the parent-teachers' associations. You do not find the like of that any place in the world.

MR. LASSWELL: The general point is that, after all, there are certain special kinds of institutions that maintain what we have called the psychology of the middle classes. In general, you can say that what we are interested in is a balanced institution—that is to say, a balance between central and local government; a balance between what the government does and what is done privately. Johnson, don't you agree with that?

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, I certainly do. I would like to emphasize the fact that in the last forty years of American life there is a feeling of a loss of opportunity; that the fluidity has gone out of American existence. With the closing of the frontier, we seem to have become crystallized.

MR. DRUCKER: In that sense, the New Deal is only another step

in the direction of static society, in which, instead of self-government on the local level, you have a bureaucracy on the central level.

MR. JOHNSON: I do not agree at all. I think that the New Deal is attempting to regain for American life this equality of opportunity that has been crushed out in the last forty years.

MR. LASSWELL: But, whether one agrees or not, that does bring us up to the second major problem that we ought to talk about. We should turn to a discussion of whether or not this has weakened the middle class. We are all agreed about the fact that there is danger that the middle class is weakening. The question is how come this decline of the middle class?

MR. DRUCKER: I would say that the war has only brought it out. The war is not a cause. The war is the spotlight which has shown us that in our present society those middle-class values and beliefs in which all of us believe do not have a full chance to realize themselves.

MR. JOHNSON: If out of the war the middle class can gain an economy of abundance, I think that the threat will decline.

MR. DRUCKER: I do not agree with you. I think that the economic considerations are very unimportant altogether. Far more important is the fact that we have today an urban, industrial society and that our middle class is small town and rural in its concept, its beliefs, and its institutions. We do not have a middle-class society in industry, and that is not an economic fact.

MR. LASSWELL: I know very well, Johnson, from what you have said before, that you think that the crisis in the middle class is due to something very important that has happened to the organization of business in this country.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, I certainly do. I feel that in the last forty

WHERE AMERICANS LIVE

Source: 1940 Census.

years, or, say, since 1890, the development of monopoly capitalism—that is, the control of our industrial structure by a few—has become a great threat to the continuance of middle-class democracy. We are now faced with that problem during this war.

MR. DRUCKER: I think that you are about fifty years behind the times and that you are actually doctoring symptoms which are no longer important. The important thing today is not monopoly capitalism but the fact that, unless we have self-government and opportunities in the industrial sphere, we will have fascism, because that is precisely the main road to fascism.

MR. LASSWELL: But you are not defending the position, are you, that we ought to have society run by monopoly capitalism where it makes the important decisions? It ought to be perfectly clear that what you are doing is defending the principle of balance. Isn't that your understanding?

Mr. Johnson: Yes. Drucker, I will quote what you say about me to my conservative friends. However, I certainly disagree that monopoly capitalism is not a threat. I think that it is.

Mr. Drucker: I think that we have reached the point where we no longer have to worry about big business, which, I think, has been effectively regulated. What we have to worry about is big government, which has not been regulated and which has not been organized socially.

Mr. Johnson: It seems to me there are two spheres of economic operation in the United States. There is one in which free enterprise really works, such as the florist industry. Then there is another in which freedom of enterprise merely means freedom to monopolize and freedom to exploit. In that realm I believe that we need government regulation, but I do not believe in complete government control.

Mr. Lasswell: Gentlemen, I do not think that we have to go too far with this type of analysis, because, after all, last week the listeners of the University of Chicago Round Table did have an opportunity to hear very thoroughly discussed the significance of modern cartels. One of the points which was emphasized at that time was the great danger that comes when you permit a large-scale cartelizing of your economy.[1]

Mr. Drucker: You know, I am actually much more interested in what I consider the basic point. To give you an example of what I mean, I think that the depression was as unnecessary as anything. It was just a failure of political imagination. There is no reason why you cannot put unemployed men and unemployed machines together and produce goods for starving people.

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[1] See William Benton, Hugh Cox, and Gardiner Means, *Cartels and the Peace*, a University of Chicago Round Table transcript, No. 277, broadcast July 11, 1943.

MR. LASSWELL: Are you advocating, as a solution of that type of problem, the increase of the degree of monopolization of economic activity in this country?

MR. DRUCKER: No, I am not. What is important is the very opposite, which is not monopoly government and just another name for monopoly capitalism. But real self-government on the local level can, for instance, solve the relief problem and the unemployment problem locally. It can be done; it has to be done.

MR. JOHNSON: The American public certainly thinks that this problem of monopoly capitalism is important, because, as far back as 1890, they passed the Sherman Anti-trust Act. Theodore Roosevelt became extremely popular as a trust-buster. Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt have both tried to develop the laws of the state to regulate industry for the benefit of the public.

MR. DRUCKER: Do you see the problem of the middle classes as one of the past or one of the future? If you talk about the past, bring in the Anti-trust Act and Woodrow Wilson. If you talk about the future, take it for granted that we no longer have to worry about monopoly capitalism, which today eats out of Washington's hands.

MR. JOHNSON: The problem of the future for the middle class is to have an intelligent regulation of monopoly capitalism so that it will serve the public.

MR. DRUCKER: Without self-government? Have a bureaucrat regulate the social life? That is another word for despotism.

MR. JOHNSON: No, not at all. This word "bureaucrat" is a red herring that is drawn in to confuse issues. I believe that we can work out a system, in the American tradition, where there will still be plenty of freedom for the individual left and which will also gain equality of opportunity through regulation.

Mr. Lasswell: What you have been talking about is the development of certain types of industrial changes. You have talked about some of the consequences of large-scale monopoly capitalism. Now I would like to connect up some of these changes with another aspect. I would like to discuss the loss of self-respect on the part of a great many people in the society around us. I think that that spells itself out in very direct ways. Plenty of people in our society feel that they just do not control decisions that are made in Wall Street or decisions that are made in Washington. That strikes me as important.

Mr. Drucker: After all, we talk about the war and the middle classes. One of the most important things from which we can learn what is wrong with our society is the effect which the war has had upon self-respect. Take the man on relief who had lost his self-respect and who felt that he had become an outcast. As soon as he got into the Army and into a uniform, even though his income was certainly lower even than on relief, he was a citizen again.

Mr. Lasswell: That is right. As a matter of fact, we can go right back to our experience under the depression. If you stop to think about it, the people who had jobs on public relief work actually hung their heads in many communities in the presence of the taxpayers. They felt that they were just useless, superfluous human beings.

Mr. Johnson: There you are talking about the WPA and certain of its projects. I would like to bring in the fact that in the case of the professional projects on the WPA, like the writers' project, the people engaged in those lost none of their middle-class ideas or prestige.

Mr. Lasswell: I agree.

Mr. Drucker: That, I think, is a case in point, because these

people were used on projects in which they could use their ow creative energies. What we have to do is to create in the industri sphere the possibility for creative action and creative responsibilit —in other words, for citizenship, because that is what we real mean by middle class.

Mr. Lasswell: I think that we have come to a point where w can ask our third question. We have certainly agreed that the mi dle class is weakening and in danger. Our problem is how we ca strengthen the middle classes.

Mr. Drucker: I would say that the problem of strengthenin the middle classes is a problem of the war effort. I would say tha we stand in danger of losing a good part of the achievements o war production unless we manage to bring the citizen into our wa economy right now as a responsible middle-class citizen.

Mr. Johnson: Let us come down to facts here. What do yo mean by that?

Mr. Drucker: For two years we have had miraculous war pro duction without an economic policy. We have now reached the poin where we have to have it. We cannot afford to have inflation. W cannot afford to have the manpower control collapse. We canno afford to have price and wage ceilings collapse. All of this presup poses an active, responsible participation of the citizen in his loca community.

Mr. Lasswell: Part of what you are talking about is the ab sence of clear goals in certain places in the conduct of the war effort I do not see how we can expect a middle-class society, with its de mand to feel that it has an active part in making up the importan decisions, to function unless the top executives constantly defin definite objectives for that society.

Mr. Johnson: I agree with the two of you that what we need is certain national goals set. Then we must reduce the carrying-out of these goals to a sectional pattern. It seems to me that that is being done, for example, under the War Labor Board structure here in the country.

Mr. Lasswell: Let me give you an example of the sort of thing I am talking about. Remember when President Roosevelt set a goal of sixty thousand planes? Many people thought that that was utterly preposterous. But what was done immediately was to specify to different areas over the country, to different plants, what was needed. People set about the task of assigning attainable goals. That is clear problem goal-setting and is a technique of operating a modern society.

Mr. Drucker: Let me be as specific as I can, because I think that we can define a program—and we have to define it—from the point of view both of the effectiveness of our war economy and of the effectiveness of our post-war society, which are one and the same thing, I believe. We must today decentralize the management of the war economy.

Mr. Johnson: What do you mean by that? The development of these management labor committees?

Mr. Drucker: That would be one step, and a very important one. Actually, though, in a few factories today the workers are in responsible control of the management of the social life of the factory.

Mr. Johnson: Yes; but several years ago, Donald Nelson asked industry to help these committees get going. Actually, very little has really been done.

Mr. Drucker: That is a slow process. I do not think you can expect it to go fast, especially during a war. But at least I think

that the great majority of industrial managers and the great majority of workmen today are aware of the fact that the factory is a social unit which needs membership participation and responsible local action to keep going.

MR. LASSWELL: Still there is that distinction that you made, Drucker, in which you said that we should let these management committees talk about culturally significant things—let them talk about, in effect, bowling alleys and teams.

MR. DRUCKER: Oh, no.

MR. LASSWELL: The problem is what kind of checkup and report and clarification of the plant's job you want. Johnson, I believe that you are thinking, too, along these lines.

MR. JOHNSON: I am a bit worried about these management labor committees, because they just are not working out, apparently.

MR. DRUCKER: I am worried about the lack of policy at the top, which would make it possible to throw responsibility to the people in the communities. It should be possible, and it is necessary.

MR. JOHNSON: There are clear-cut goals from the standpoint of the War Labor Board. They have sent out orders to their various regions, and we who are on the panels of the War Labor Board are trying to carry those out on a regional, decentralized basis.

MR. DRUCKER: That's pure regulation, which does not, I believe, go into essentials.

MR. JOHNSON: No, Drucker, it isn't regulation, because, when you sit down in these panels and the employer and employees come into them, they work out their own affairs in a democratic way.

MR. DRUCKER: This is not a discussion on the War Labor Board but a discussion on the war and the middle classes, and I think that

we ought to keep our goal clear. What the three of us are after is to establish a clear policy at the top which would make it possible, let us say, for the government to tell the citizens of California, "That is the amount of gas you will have during the next six months . . . ."

MR. LASSWELL: That is right. That is what we're trying to do.

MR. DRUCKER: ". . . . How you distribute it is your business. If you make a mess of it, it is your mess."

MR. JOHNSON: It seems to me, from the standpoint of the Selective Service operation in this country, that the local operation in that instance has been very defective many times. It would have been much better with a central control.

MR. DRUCKER: If you are out for perfection, you can have only despotism. If you want free men, you must take the risk of mistakes. Believe me, all the mistakes of Selective Service boards (which are the most effective means of democracy today in this country, I believe) are nothing as compared with the mistakes of some centralized agencies with their experts.

MR. LASSWELL: Agreed. But it is still very important to say that when we run this war we want to run it in such a way as to keep alive as much initiative as possible—not just in discussion but actually in action. I know, Johnson, that you feel very strongly about that.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, it seems to me there are certain agencies that have been formed during this war effort that can give people not only a means to talk but a means of action. And one of those, potentially, could be the Office of Civilian Defense. I admit that in many cases it is not, but it could become a great training center of an intelligent opinion. It could be a political action group that could destroy any political machine in this country.

MR. DRUCKER: You know, one of the most amazing features of the situation is that everybody sees in his own agency an instrument of democratic action and nobody does a thing about it. For instance, being very interested in the financial program, I see in it a great opportunity for community building and a great necessity. I think that the problem of liquidating the war bonds cannot be licked.

MR. LASSWELL: What is your suggestion, then, on this point?

MR. DRUCKER: I would say that we must run our war-bond campaigning with policy of repayment attached, so to speak. In a good many communities that will have to mean that the citizens will get together and say, "Now, what do we want to do with this purchasing power after the war? Do we want a better city? Do we want schools? Do we want hospitals, as a community enterprise?"

MR. JOHNSON: We could spend a great deal of time on that, but we ought to move on to what the American Army can do to help the middle class in this war, since, after all, most of the soldiers are middle-class people.

MR. LASSWELL: It seems to me that that is a very important point you have hit upon. After all, General Lear and some of the other Army men have done something about it.

MR. JOHNSON: Yes, General Lear worked out a very intelligent program where the enlisted men themselves got together in groups and discussed the problems facing American society today. That type of thing should be encouraged.

MR. DRUCKER: It is a very interesting example that the British have set, for they have really succeeded in using an army of five million men as an effective adult-education program for their citizens—one in which you learn how to behave as a responsible citizen.

Mr. Lasswell: Right. Notice that that was done not merely by lecturing to these fellows. On the contrary, it was done by stimulating very vigorous discussion. That is one point about this Army program.

Mr. Johnson: We should not overlook the fact that within the past few months the Army has taken a really important step to bolster the middle class in the war effort by developing a specialized training program. There are about two hundred thousand boys who are to be sent to the universities and colleges in this country, to study a number of subjects. Here at the University of Chicago, I happen to be teaching them American history. Of course, they take many other things, too.

Mr. Drucker: It is important to emphasize that, in an army of ten million people, we have an instrument of social value in which we must use the time and opportunity to prepare them for active participation as citizens. I think that it can be done.

Mr. Johnson: From the experience I have had with the Army boys on this campus, I find that the boys want to discuss questions. I can imagine that all the rest of the boys in the Army want to discuss them, but they are not having the opportunity.

Mr. Lasswell: If we are going to increase the skill with which we arouse a sense of effective participation on the part of our public, it is going to be necessary to change some of our congressional practices and some of our Washington practices. I think that what is needed is to develop the habit of reports to the nation, from time to time, in very concrete terms, about national objectives and goals and about the degree to which we have got somewhere on them.

Mr. Johnson: Also, we should begin to think in this country of the problem of demobilizing the Army so that they will have a place in middle-class society.

MR. DRUCKER: You two talk exclusively now about public opinion and public education and public reporting. I want to talk about action. I think that education and opinion are all right but that you will never get responsible citizens unless they are responsible for their own fate and for their own decision on the action level.

MR. JOHNSON: I agree with you there, for at least once in this program. Certainly, our middle-class citizens should get out in politics and get active. Too many of them do not even bother to vote at election time. They should get out and ring doorbells for good candidates and get the voters to the polls.

MR. DRUCKER: That is still a very low level of action. What we have to do is to re-create the New England town-meeting spirit in our industry—not just the spirit but the reality—and we have to re-create the community in our industrial centers where actual people on the spot assume responsibilities of leadership.

MR. JOHNSON: Politics really is not a very low level of action in the United States. Politics is a great American business—a great American game. We can look at the present Congress and see what effect that is having on the war effort if we think that politics is not important.

MR. DRUCKER: I do not say it is not important, but it is not enough.

MR. LASSWELL: Gentlemen, the most important thing that we have said about the relation between the middle classes and the war is that the war gives an opportunity to strengthen the middle classes. I think that that is the most important thing that has come out of this program.

You have noticed that we have pointed out that America is essentially a middle-class society. America, after all, takes it for granted that a man's claim to self-respect depends, in large meas-

ure, on the fact that he can sacrifice and serve his fellow-men. That is the fundamental attitude that we want to maintain.

But, gentlemen, we have also said over and over again that if this attitude is to survive the problem of living in a large-scale society like this, we will have to exercise every ounce of ingenuity that we have to figure out how we can participate more actively in the making of important decisions. A great many things have been brought out in this program about what can be done to strengthen middle-class participation in that sense. We have pointed out how it is possible to decentralize much war administration; how it is possible to utilize the Army, the shop, and plant activities; how it is possible to clarify the larger objectives and goals of our national policy.

It seems to me that every listener to this program can ask himself now, "What did I do last week to extend and strengthen the middle classes? Did I as a member of a trade-union participate critically and actively in policies? Did I as a member of an employers' association participate actively? Did I as a member of a war council in a community initiate or suggest?"

It seems to me that in this world we save the middle classes and we save freedom when we act and think.

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More on This Topic

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PALM, F. C., *The Middle Classes, Then and Now.* New York: Mac millan Co., 1936. *A historical review of the position of the midd classes up to the economic collapse of the thirties.*

What Do *You* Think?

1. Consider the various definitions of "middle class" used in the discussion, then analyze your own position. Do you regard yourself as "middle class"? Why?

2. Think of several persons you know well. Do you think any of them do not fall within the definition of the middle class as a state of mind? Why? How has the war affected them?

3. What, in your opinion, is the greatest threat to the American middle class: that of monopoly capitalism, monopoly government, or a class-conscious lower class? Discuss. Is a large industrial society with big cities a menace to the middle class? Why or why not?

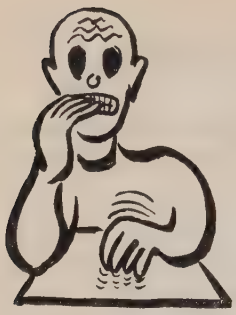
4. Democracy and the existence of a substantial middle class are identical. Comment on this statement and discuss the position of the middle class in a democratic system and in a totalitarian regime.

5. Compare and contrast the impact of the war on the middle class in England and the United States. Is the economic nature of total war such as to destroy the middle class?

6. Should or should not the American middle class become more conscious of what it stands for? Should it become more class conscious? Why is the American middle class split up into many different pressure groups? What are the relations between the middle class and the two major political parties?

7. What are the weaknesses and strengths of the American "middle-class mind" with reference to the problems of the war and the peace? Does a program of free enterprise and attack on monopoly or a program of governmental planning in the economic field have the best prospects of political success?

8. Why is the lack of participation by many of the citizens in American society in making important policy decisions a crucial problem? Should proposed social policies be tested according to the degree they increase self-respect and citizen participation in American society? Discuss.



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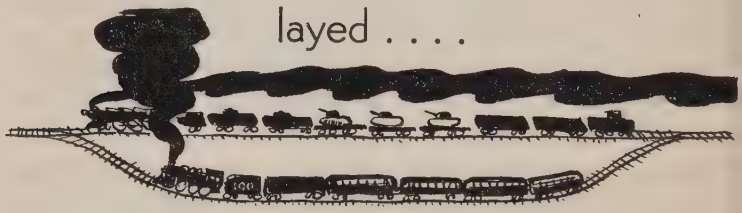

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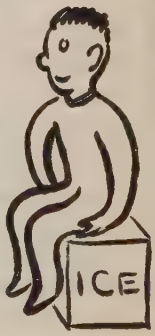


The People Say....

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "Cartels and the Peace," broadcast July 11, 1943.*

*

Need a Housecleaning

I heard your discussion on cartels today. It was fine, only I fear that nothing will be done about it. This country, and others, needs a real renovating and housecleaning. The laborers and we skilled workers of less than $3,000 a year are really the puppets for such men as those who make up these cartels. I do not agree with you that these men are for the most part honest. I firmly believe that they are unscrupulous and sidestep the freedom that we fought for in 1776.....—*A listener from Sebring, Ohio.*

*

Thought-provoking

....It seems to me that a new spirit must come into business, where "big business" will recognize the value of the service which "small business" can render and in which the latter will be encouraged to go on with its research and development instead of being shoved off the map as soon as it begins to develop something better than its big competitor. "Small business" must be freed from the fear that it is going to be put out of business. This is a real terror to the man in small business. Your discussions are very thought-provoking and instructive.—*A listener from Cleveland, Ohio.*

Use Machinery

....Would it be possible to use these cartels—wonderfully organized as they are—to straighten out Europe after the war? It would seem a step backward to smash these combines, although some of us might hesitate to hand the world over to DuPont or I.G. Farben. Perhaps the machinery might be used under less selfish direction.....—*A listener from New Rochelle, New York.*

*

Real Enemy in War, Too

....My feeling regarding this particular program is that emphasis was not given as to the importance of this in affecting world conditions or to point out that our *real enemy* is the monopoly-cartel during *war* as well as peace.—*A listener from New York, New York.*

*

Industrial Progress Will Cease

I listened with much interest to your discussion of "Cartels and the Peace," and all I got out of the discussion was that you were one and all against cartels and that cartels were evil and that nothing but evil resulted from their formation and operation.

In the first place, your definition of

cartels made no distinction between arrangements in restraint of trade and agreements in conformity with law and patent rights. We have laws that are supposed to control agreements in restraint of trade, but we have no laws denying a patent-holder the right to use that patent to his own advantage. A patent is a clear and lawful monopoly, and its use in restraint of trade does not interfere with trade already in existence but only with the manufacture and use of a specific invention. The owner of a patent deprives no one of anything to which he is entitled and what he already enjoys. Furthermore, no one, at least not any industrial company, is going to spend millions of dollars in making new discoveries unless it can by the sale of its new products recover the cost of their invention and development. If the theories of former Assistant Attorney-General Arnold, of his successor, Cox, and of the members of the ROUND TABLE were made effective, industrial progress would cease. . . . .—*A listener from Madison, Wisconsin.*

*

Remedies Not Adequate

. . . . I am afraid, though, that the remedies that you touched upon will not be adequate enough to correct the situation. It is true that reform of our patent system is an important step; so, too, is antitrust enforcement. From my study of this economic phenomenon, however, I believe that there is one principal factor which contributes to cartelization that you completely ignored. That is the monopolization of natural resources. It seems to me that cartelization can be dealt with only by reforming our economic system to prevent, not just prosecute, abuse of the free market through control of basic natural resources. If we bear in mind that all production stems from natural resources and is thus *dependent* thereon, we will realize that no reform which by-passes this basic economic factor can fully succeed. For the basis of free competitive enterprise inures from the accessibility of economic opportunity. There cannot be opportunity while it is within the power of some to control natural resources in a manner not coincident with the public good—by excluding others. . . . .—*A listener from Revere, Massachussetts.*

*

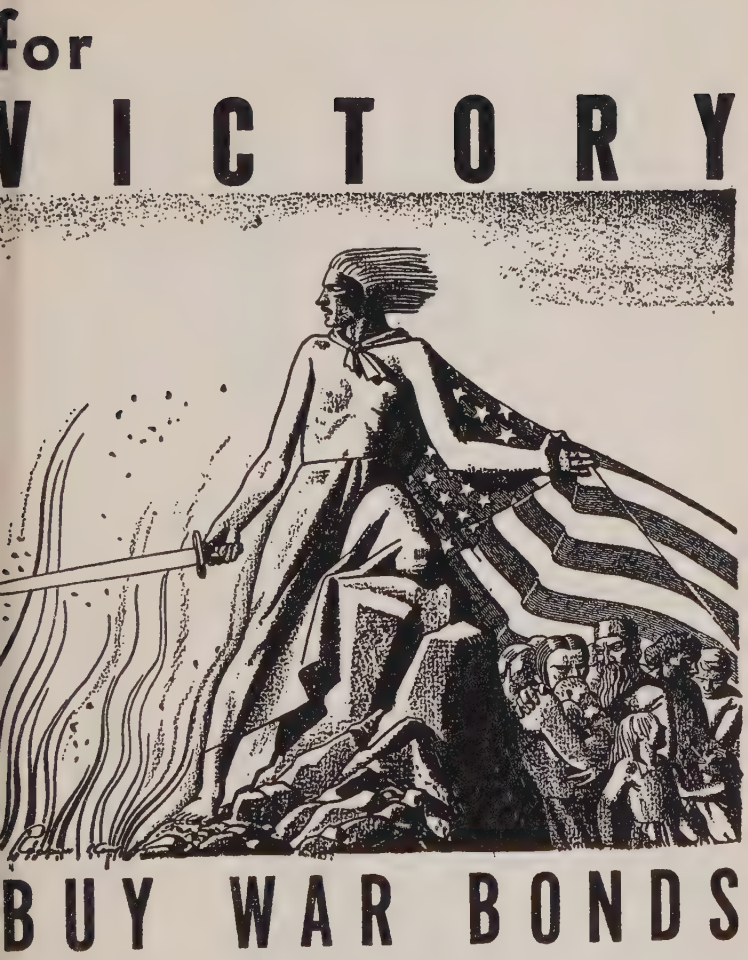
Illegal

. . . . The present war is the outcome of trade and cartel agreements and the cause of stifling international trade. They should be declared illegal by all nations of the world. As a consequence of these international agreements, we had to face that financial crash in October, 1929. . . . .—*A listener from New York, New York.*

*

A Revelation!

There should be more discussions of this type, so that many people who have lacked educational advantages may understand these problems more clearly. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that these monopoly groups consider no sacrifice too great to keep their empires together—even human life. This is the first time that I have understood the cartel system, and your discussion was quite a revelation.—*A listener from Chicago, Illinois.*



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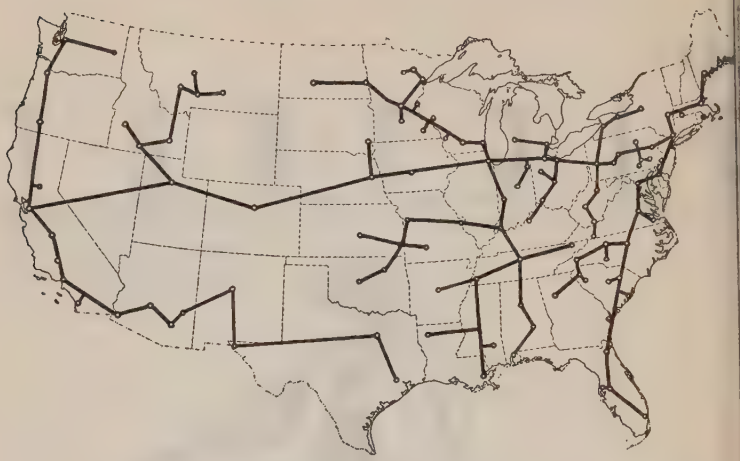

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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilo-cycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

City	Call Letters	Kilocycles	City	Call Letters	Kilocycles
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismark, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	930	Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1500
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810

BY TRANSCRIPTION VIA SHORT WAVE

Anchorage, Alaska	KFQD	790	Juneau, Alaska	KINY	1450
Fairbanks, Alaska	KFAR	610	Ketchikan, Alaska	KTAN	930

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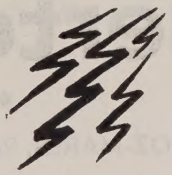

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JULY 25, 1943

Puerto Rico

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LUIS MUÑOZ-MARÍN, President of the Puerto Rican Senate

MARTIN TRAVIESO, Associate Justice of the Puerto Rican Supreme Court

QUINCY WRIGHT, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago

•

SUGGESTED READINGS

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